A Popiſh Prince the Peſt of a Proteſtant People.

A

SERMON,

Preached at the

Pariſh Church of St. *Mary le Bow*,

On *Sunday* the 13th of *October*, 1745.

By the Rev. Mr. DOWNES, *Lecturer of the ſaid Church.*

1 KINGS xii. Part of the 14th Verſe.

My Father made your Yoke heavy, and I will add to your Yoke. My Father alſo chaſtis'd you with Whips, but I will chaſtiſe you with Scorpions.

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PREFACE.

A Prefatory Apology for the Publication of a Diſcourſe hath ſometimes coſt the Author as much Pains as the Diſcourſe itſelf. But the preſent Criſis of Affairs renders it as unneceſſary for any Clergyman to Apologize for taking up his Pen, as any Layman his Arms.—I might truly ſay, that this Sermon was not ſent abroad without ſpecial Requeſt: *But I think it a far better Reaſon for publiſhing it, that regardleſs of my Reputation as a Writer, my Ambition is to ſhew myſelf a good Subject.---I am well adviſ'd that it will not be injurious to the Common Cauſe: And then, every well-meant Endeavour to ſerve it, will by all thoſe who are zealouſly and rightly affected, be receiv'd with Candour. But however that be, the Man who would not hazard the good Opinion of the World on ſo glorious an Occaſion, muſt in vain pretend, at the much greater hazard of his Life and Fortune, to ſtand up for his King and his Country.*

1 KINGS xii. Part of the 14th Verſe.

My Father made your Yoke heavy, and I will add to your Yoke. My Father alſo chaſtis'd you with Whips, but I will chaſtiſe you with Scorpions.

THESE are the Words of *Rehoboam* to the People of *Iſrael*, ſoon after his Acceſſion to the Throne, upon the Demiſe of his Father.

The *Iſraelites* thought they had been much oppreſſed in the former Reign, with heavy Taxes and Tributes, and therefore now agreed to petition their new King for a Redreſs of Grievances. *Thy Father made our Yoke grievous; now therefore make thou the grievous Service of thy Father, and his heavy Yoke which he put upon us lighter, and we will ſerve thee.* The King received the Petition, and took three Days to conſider of it: And, in the mean Time, conſulted the *old Men* that ſtood before *Solomon* his Father, the moſt aged and experienced amongſt his Counſellors, to know what Anſwer he ſhould return; who, with the Wiſdom becoming the hoary Head, advis'd him thus: *If thou wilt be a Servant unto this People this Day, and wilt ſerve them, and wilt ſpeak good words to them, then they will be thy Servants for ever.* As if they had ſaid, upon thy Behaviour on this critical Occaſion depends the Peace and Happineſs of thy future Reign. If thou wilt comply with their Requeſt, give them the Redreſs they wiſh, or even promiſe to rule them with Lenity and Moderation, thou wilt for ever engage their Affections, and ſecure their Allegiance.—This grave and judicious Advice was not half reliſh'd by *Rehoboam*. He was young, and therefore appeal'd from it to *Young Men* like himſelf; Men who had grown up with him, and ſtood before him; his own Cotemporaries, whom he had therefore employ'd in his early Adminiſtration. And theſe with the Heat and Precipitancy incident to Youth, gave him quite contrary Counſel. Advis'd him (and he readily yielded to that Advice which ſeem'd moſt favourable to his Ambition) not to hearken

to the Complaints of his People, but to reſent their Inſolence for pretending to bring him under Conditions, and inſtead of redreſſing, to tell them he would increaſe their Grievances: Saying, *My Father made your Yoke heavy, and I will add to your Yoke; my Father alſo chaſtis'd you with Whips, but I will chaſtiſe you with Scorpions.*

This remarkable Paſſage in holy Writ opens to us a large Field of Matter, would furniſh us with many uſeful and entertaining Incidents, on which at ſome time more ſeaſonable it might not be amiſs to expatiate.——We might obſerve from it, that Luxury can find ways and means of exhauſting the richeſt Finances, is a Gulf which would ſwallow up the moſt immenſe Treaſury; ſince *Solomon*, who in *Wealth*, as well as *Wiſdom*, exceeded all the Kings of the Earth, who had *made Silver to be in Jeruſalem as Stones, yea, to be accounted of as nothing*, yet was ſo profuſe in his Expences, *viz.* his Buildings, his Palaces, his Cities, (for I ſpeak not of the Temple, in which he could hardly be too ſumptuous) his Houſhold, his Equipages, his Wives, and his Concubines, that his Subjects groan'd under the Weight of exceſſive or oppreſſive Levies.——We might alſo from the ſame Paſſage take occaſion to obſerve, how improperly ſome have endeavour'd to derive deſpotic Rule, and the religious Neceſſity of an abſolute unlimited Submiſſion to it, from the Kings and People of *Iſrael*; ſince in the very Inſtance before us we find the People ſtipulating with their Prince, and making his Protection the Condition of their Allegiance. It's true indeed, he did not accede to the Condition, but neither did they therefore continue their Obedience; as he refus'd to be their Protector, they refus'd to be his People; took the Crown from off his Head and plac'd it on *Jeroboam*'s.——We might further take notice from this Occurrence in ſacred Story, what ſort of Men are fitteſt to be employ'd about the Perſon of a King, to preſide in his Cabinet, or aſſiſt in his Councils; not raſh unexperienc'd Youth, Strangers to the right uſe of Power; not Flatterers and Sycophants, whoſe pernicious Blandiſhments naturally lead him into the Abuſe of it; but Men of Experience, Men of Temper, Sagacious, Sedate, Sincere: Men who will adviſe him not craftily but cordially; will ſtudy *his* Intereſt not their own; will not ſo much conſult his Pleaſure as his Peace; will deal freely and fairly with him; will ſhew him the Errors of his Adminiſtration; nor will, as the Son of *Sirach* hath it, *be afraid to ſpeak when there is occaſion to do Good, nor hide their Wiſdom in its Beauty.* Men who would rather he was the Darling of his People, than they the Favourites of their Prince. Men in ſhort, who would be free, but not forward;

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and Ingenuous but not Inſolent. Such plain-ſpoken, plain-dealing Miniſters, it muſt be confeſs'd, are very rare; and ſo are the Monarchs, who are pleas'd with ſuch Miniſters. But they are certainly a great and ineſtimable Treaſure wherever they are to be found; they are ſuch Men as every wiſe King muſt *delight to Honour*. *Rehoboam* ſeem'd happy in ſuch Counſellers, but he fooliſhly rejected their Counſels, wherefore the People rejected him from being King.—Theſe Reflections the Context throws full in my Way; but I ſhall endeavour to avoid them at preſent, and to ſtick cloſe to the Text, which points out a Subject far more ſuitable to the Times.

The *Text* informs us of a *Father* and a *Son*, two Kings of *Iſrael*. The Times remind us of a *Father* who was, and a *Son* (or a reputed Son, for ſo I muſt always beg to be underſtood when I ſpeak of him under that Character) who would be King of *England*. In this laſt Particular the two Caſes differ; but in the next, and moſt material Circumſtances, they exactly agree. The Father in both *made the Yoke* of his Subjects *heavy*, the Son is deſirous *to add to the Yoke*. The Father in both *chaſtis'd them with Whips*, the Son is impatient *to chaſtiſe them with Scorpions*.——

That the two Characters in the Text, at firſt Sight, agree very well with thoſe of a late Prince of, and a preſent Pretender to, the Throne of theſe Kingdoms, is plain enough. Let us examine whether the ſame Agreement will hold upon a cloſer and ſtricter View. That is, in other Words, whether this Nation did not feel the *Whip*, from the Hand of the late King, *James* the Second, and whether it hath not Reaſon to fear the *Scorpions* from the Perſon who aſſumes the Stile and Title of King *James* the Third, ſhould he ever get the Dominion over us.

Concerning the firſt of theſe two Points, it is neceſſary that we look a little into the ſhort Reign of that miſguided Prince; that we conſider the End he aim'd at from his Acceſſion to the Throne, and the Means by which he purſued that End during his Continuance upon it.—Now, his End or Intention was the Eſtabliſhment of Popery. For, notwithſtanding his ſpecious and ſolemn Promiſe and Aſſurance given to his Privy Council at their firſt Meeting, and afterwards as ſolemnly confirm'd at the firſt Meeting of his Parliament, to defend and ſupport the Church of *England*, as by Law eſtabliſh'd, nothing was ever ſurer, or more ſelf-evident, than that he meant the Reverſe to what he ſaid, and that his Promiſes to ſupport were only calculated to give him Power and Credit with his People, that ſo he might more effectually ſubvert it. Was it poſſible for us

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to err in this Particular, thoſe of the Church of *Rome* at leaſt will think us right, having the Authority of a Pope on our Side. Who apprehending King *James*'s Zeal for the Propagation of Popery, would precipitate him into Meaſures prejudicial both to himſelf and the Cauſe, in his congratulatory Letter to that Prince on his Acceſſion to the Crown caution'd him againſt it. —— But the Actions of that deluded Monarch are clearer and ſtronger Evidence of his Aims, than the Apprehenſion of either Popes or Councils. His publickly going to Maſs in St. *James*'s *Chappel* the very firſt Sunday of his Reign, and throwing off that Diſguiſe when he became *King*, which he had all along wore when only *Duke of York*, is, and was at that time by Men of Diſcernment, and Well-Wiſhers to the Church of *England*, look'd upon as a flagrant Proof of his Deſign to overturn it in Favour of his own.

The Means by which he ſought to bring about ſuch Deſign were various. ——One was what hath been juſt now mentioned: His ſo ſpeedy Declaration of his Popiſh Principles. — I know this hath been ſometimes urg'd as an Argument in favour of his Sincerity and Fair-dealing. But why then did he wear the Maſk before? — Why? The Reaſon is obvious: Having got Poſſeſſion of the Crown, he was no longer afraid of a Bill of Excluſion. The Neceſſity of diſſembling his Religion was not the ſame as in the former Reign. The Caſe is manifeſtly this; had he then declared his Attachment to the Church of *Rome*, he would never have been ſupreme Head of the Church of *England*; without which he could have no Hope of being the *bleſſed* Inſtrument of reſtoring *Popery*, and reſcinding the Reformation. So that the beſt that can be ſaid for his Sincerity is, that when the Vizor became no longer uſeful, he *ſincerely* threw it off, depending now upon Power, as before upon Policy. To talk of Sincerity in a *Papiſt*, in any Matter where Religion is concerned, is abſurd and ridiculous. Let them only be ſincere in promoting the *Popiſh* Cauſe, and then Diſſimulation and Hypocriſy are meritorious; and tho' deep as Hell, will exalt them to Heaven. The King himſelf gave a much truer Reaſon for his ſo publick and early Avowal of his Principles to thoſe *Catholick* Lords who objected to him, his making too much haſte to eſtabliſh the Faith. *I am growing Old and muſt take large Steps, elſe if I ſhould happen to die I might perhaps leave you in a worſe Condition than I found you.* And this ſurely was a very large Step; his making open Profeſſion of that Religion the third Day after

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his being called to the Crown, which till then it was dangerous even to ſuppoſe he had embrac'd. — Beſides, as Policy taught him to conceal his Principles when he had only a Crown in View, ſo the ſame Policy might put him upon declaring them when he had got that Crown in Poſſeſſion. He might expect that his Royal Example would have an extraordinary Influence; that many would be inclin'd to follow their ſovereign Maſter, whether to the *Houſe of God*, or to the *Houſe of Rimmon*; that tho' blind to the Faith, they would ſee their Intereſt; that the Great and Noble would be of his Perſwaſion, that they might get nearer to his Perſon; that others would be Court-Converts for the Sake of Court-Penſions; that by theſe Means he ſhould have his own Creatures at the Council-Board and in the Senate; that there would not be wanting a fit Supply of Men to ſerve him at the Head of the Church, the Law, and the Army; that moſt Men would be of that Religion by which they ſaw moſt was to be got; and in ſhort, that when they perceived, however Salvation might be had elſewhere, Preferment was at leaſt confined within the Pale of the Church of *Rome*, few would chuſe to be out of it. —— Again, another Method by which he endeavoured to accompliſh his Deſign of eſtabliſhing *Popery*, was that of arrogating to himſelf a Power of diſpenſing with the penal Laws and Teſts. —— Without which his Example would have been uſeleſs, becauſe no Man could legally follow it. Or if *Papiſts* were indulg'd in the private Exerciſe of their Religion, yet they were diſqualified from holding any publick Poſt or Employment. So that until this ſtrong Barrier was broke through, the King could have no Proſpect of making any Proſelytes. Few would run after him for Love, if they could not enjoy the Loaves. Take away the Pay, and there will be no Proſtitutes. This Impediment therefore he determined to remove in a Parliamentary Way, if he could; but finding the Senate not quite eaſy at one Vote to give up the Conſtitution, he diſmiſs'd them, and went a different Way to Work. He could chooſe his own *Judges*, tho' not his *Senators*. And he choſe able Men indeed: in whoſe Hands the Statutes at Large from *Magna Charta* to their time, thoſe huge, heavy, hard-knotted Volumes, were no more, than the *Withs and Ropes in the Hand of Sampſon*. But he ſubdued thoſe ſtrong Men who thus ſubdued the Law. He cloſeted them firſt, that he might learn where their Strength lay, and then ſhav'd their Heads and gave them each a Quoif. From which time they acknowledg'd

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the King not only to be the Fountain of Honour, but alſo of Law, whoſe Current his mighty Prerogative might ſtop at Pleaſure. The Conſequence of which was, his contemning all thoſe wholſome Penalties which in former Reigns had been provided againſt *Popery*; his taking down the Partition-Wall betwixt *Papiſt* and *Proteſtant*; his putting both upon the ſame footing with reſpect to Places of Truſt, whether Eccleſiaſtical, Civil or Military; and in one Word, of eſtabliſhing his favourite Religion with the utmoſt Facility and Expedition. —— What Judgment too ſevere can we paſs upon ſuch Judges, who thus wickedly conſpir'd the enſlaving of their Country, and whoſe vile and venal Voices actually pav'd the Way for the Deſtruction of their King! *Have I not choſen you twelve*, ſaid our bleſſed Saviour, *and one of You hath a Devil?* But we may ſay of theſe twelve who were choſen, that eleven of them were poſſeſs'd. —But for the glorious twelfth, what ſhall we ſay of him? How can we ſufficiently bleſs the Memory of that juſt Man, who ſtood firm as a Rock againſt ſuch a Torrent of Corruption? whom neither the Flatteries nor Frowns of Majeſty, nor the Example of his Fellows (unworthy to be ſo call'd) could move from his Stedfaſtneſs? Or how can we but bleſs our ſelves, who are happy in a Prince that ſcorns the mean Practice of cloſeting Judges; and in a Bench who would one and all, I am verily perſuaded, ſooner forfeit their Lives, than ſubmit to be adorn'd with ſuch guilty Honours?—— Another Expedient for advancing the *Popiſh* Cauſe, was, a Prohibition to the Clergy from Preaching upon controverted Points of Divinity. The Clergy I mean of the Church of *England*; for thoſe of *Rome* were allowed both to preach and publiſh what they pleas'd againſt the Church eſtabliſhed, tho' they of the Eſtabliſhment were reſtrained from the ſame Liberty againſt thoſe who were not ſo much as legally tolerated. It was not enough to take off Pains and Penalties from *Papiſts*, without laying them upon Proteſtants. If our Clergy would avoid the Exaction of the full Value of their Firſt-Fruits and Tenths, they muſt keep their Lips cloſe, and not dare to open their Mouths againſt the Religion of their King, however contrary to that of their Country. And tho' by the Laws of the Land the *Pope* was declar'd an Enemy to this Kingdom, and conſequently it was Treaſon to hold Communion with the Church of *Rome*; by the Law of the King, (which was his arbitrary Will) it was made criminal to oppoſe the Doctrines of that Church, and he who was proſelyted to it was deemed the

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beſt Subject. —— Thus did King *James* the IId. inſtead of keeping his ſolemn and repeated Promiſes to protect and preſerve the Church of *England*, lay it open to the Inſults of it's moſt inveterate Enemies, and then tye up it's Hands that it ſhould not defend itſelf.

And now what was to be expected from triumphant Popery, but the avenging Scourge? what but that having thus got the Reins, they who would not be tractable muſt feel the Whip? what but Inquiſitions and Cenſures, Deprivations and Suſpenſions, Bonds and Impriſonments, and Death itſelf, for all ſuch as would not ſwim with the Stream, or ſquare their Conſciences to the Neceſſity of the Times? And as might be expected ſo it happened. *Rome* rarely diſappoints our Expectations of her Severity. Perſecution put on all her Terrors, except her Crimſon Robes; and if ſhe abſtain'd from Blood, it was not becauſe ſhe was not ready, but becauſe Things were not ripe enough for it.

The firſt who felt the Laſh was the then Biſhop of *London*, who was ſuſpended by the new Court of Inquiſition from his Epiſcopal Office, for not complying with the King's unreaſonable and unjuſt Mandate for the Suſpenſion of one of the moſt eminent and worthy of the Clergy of this Dioceſe, whoſe only Crime was, the Vindication of that Church, which his Majeſty, as Supreme Head of it, was himſelf bound to vindicate, and of which he had ſolemnly undertaken the Guardianſhip and Protection. —— The next was that ſame great and good Divine, whom the Commiſſioners of that illegal Court eaſily found guilty, tho' the Biſhop could not, and inflicted that Penalty upon him which the conſcientious Prelate bravely refuſed; chuſing rather to ſuffer an Injury than to do one, and to be puniſhed himſelf rather than to pronounce a wrong Sentence upon an innocent Perſon. —— The next were the two famous Univerſities, for oppoſing the King's Command, in not electing into their Bodies Papiſts profeſſed, excluded by the Laws of the Realm, or Men of immoral Lives, or otherwiſe diſqualified by their own Statutes: for not making as light of their Oaths and Engagements as his Majeſty had done of his; and for being as true to their Truſt, as he had been perfidious to his own. For theſe high Crimes and Miſdemeanors, ſeveral of their Heads and Principals were abuſed and vilify'd by the King himſelf, mock'd and inſulted by his haughty Inquiſitors, and at laſt, ſome of them deprived, and others ſuſpended. —— Nor muſt we forget the unjuſt and tyrannical Impriſonment of thoſe Seven truly Chriſtian Biſhops, who ought to be had in everlaſting Remembrance,

brance, for their brave and ſteady and glorious Stand againſt reading the Royal Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience. A Declaration not only illegal and unconſtitutional in itſelf, and on that Account alone unworthy their Compliance, but alſo big with Miſchief in its Conſequences; framed for the utter Ruin and Subverſion of our Religion, by letting Papiſts into the Church; by making *them* its *Governors*, who were gaping for its *Ruin*, and by putting it (as it were) into the Aſſaſſin's Hand.

Such were the Tyrannies of King *James* the Second. And tho' it muſt be allow'd he did not, for the Reaſon before aſſigned, perſecute his Proteſtant Subjects even unto Death, yet he carried the Scourge with a high Hand. He took large Steps, as he ſaid he would, and made a very handſome Progreſs for his Time. And had he not been check'd, in a manner, by Miracle, they had been chaſtiſed without Mercy. Had they not been ſaved as by *Water*, they had been try'd as by *Fire*. He would have thought it hard to be outdone by a Woman in his Zeal for the Faith, and would therefore have no more ſuffered a Heretick than *a Witch to live*.——But though he was happily reſtrained from carrying his Perſecution any higher, yet hath he left one behind him bred up in the ſame ſanguinary Principles, who inherits his Religion, and who, ſhould Providence for our Puniſhment favour his Pretenſions to the Crown, would in all Probability fill up the Meaſure of his Father's Cruelties, *add to his Yoke, and turn his Whips into Scorpions.* Which is the Point that falls next under our Conſideration.

Now ſo much we muſt ſay in Behalf of this *Son of the Times*, that he ſeems to be a better Politician than the *Son in the Text.* He breathes out no Threatnings, but ſlily endeavours to win you over by Promiſes. If you will ſerve him, he will make your Yoke as eaſy as you pleaſe. He will give you no Occaſion to offer Violence to the Overſeers of his Tributes, for he will *eaſe you wonderfully in your Taxes.* He will make no Alterations in Religion; let him only have the *Crown*, and do what you will with the *Mitre.* In ſhort, you may fix your own Terms, if you will but *have this Man to rule over you.* He promiſes fair indeed, and ſo did his Father before him. But *put not your Truſt in Papiſts, nor in any Child of Rome, for there is no Truth in them* †. Should you be deluded by his Siren's Voice, you would moſt aſſuredly find *the laſt Error to be worſe than the firſt.*

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† 'Tis a well-known Principle of the Church of *Rome*, that, where the Catholick Cauſe requires it, no Faith ought to be kept with Hereticks. And therefore it can never ſeem harſh to ſay, where that is the Caſe, no Confidence is to be placed in Papiſts. I ſay, where that is the Caſe; for in their Civil Dealings I am far from cenſuring them.

That ſuch would be the Conſequence, will appear by conſidering, Firſt, his Political and Religious Principles.—Secondly, his particular Circumſtances and Situation.—

As to the former, there can be no doubt about them, when 'tis only remember'd where he had them. In a *Court* where the Prince is *abſolute*; in a *Country* where the People are *Slaves*. Say only that he was tutor'd in *France*, and 'tis eaſy to conclude what are his Maxims of Government. With ſuch a Maſter, with ſuch an Example, is it to be conceived he can be a Friend to *Engliſh* Liberties? as well might you expect to *gather Grapes of Thorns, or Figs of Thiſtles.* If ſo ſtrong is the Prejudice of Education, that the Vaſſals of that Monarch are pleaſed with their Slavery, and are not to be reaſoned into the Love of Liberty, muſt not that Prejudice work as powerfully in thoſe who are train'd up for Empire, or educated as they who are to ſway the Sceptre? If the one are ſo fond of their Chains, is it to be imagined the other ſhould be leſs fond of their Prerogative? Chains are an unnatural Pleaſure, and one would wonder even how Cuſtom ſhould be able to make them either pleaſant or eaſy. But Prerogative is a bewitching Thing, and the Deſire of it too natural. The exceſſive Paſſion for Prerogative is a Weakneſs which Princes are very prone to; a Weakneſs particularly incident to the Family to which this Gentleman claims Kindred, and which made one of the beſt of *Men* the moſt unfortunate of *Monarchs.* The Royal Martyr had never loſt his Head, if it had not been firſt turn'd by the Love of Prerogative. And if the Chevalier was free from this Family Failing, we ſhould then have no doubt of his being a Pretender, as to his Crown, ſo alſo to his Blood. But *France* hath took Care to furniſh him with that Mark of Sonſhip, the better to countenance his Pretenſions.—Granting him to have a Right to the Blood he challenges, we ſtill might reaſonably enough imagine this Affection for Prerogative, which had run ſo long in that Blood, would be born in him; and we might as reaſonably wonder if it ſhould die, if it ſhould decreaſe, yea if it ſhould not thrive and ſpread, and grow up into Tyranny in that Clime, into which he was ſo early tranſplanted. If the *Father*, who lived ſo long amongſt a free People, who was ſo well acquainted with the Temper and Genius of the *Engliſh* Nation, could not, under ſuch advantageous Circumſtances, get the better of that conſtitutional Evil; if neither his own Peace could induce him, nor his Promiſes bind him to keep his Regal Sway within the juſt Limits of legal Power; if he could not ſay to proud Prerogative, *Hitherto ſhalt thou come, and no farther*; or if *he ſpake, and it was not done*; if he

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could not ſubmit to Parliamentary Limitations, or think himſelf obliged by any Law, except that which his mercenary Judges gave him for ſuch, viz. *that he had in himſelf a Right to diſpenſe with all Laws whatſoever*; if this Itch of arbitrary Rule ſtuck ſo cloſe to the Father, who had ſuch ſtrong Reaſons to curb and correct it, what is to be expected from the *Son*, who without the Advantages which the other had, hath many Prejudices which he had not; who hath from his earlieſt Years been principled in the Notions of abſolute Monarchy; who ſuck'd them in with his Milk, and hath ſince had no Opportunities of being wean'd from them; who hath obſerved nothing amongſt Sovereigns but deſpotic Commands, nothing amongſt Subjects, but the moſt ſlaviſh Submiſſion; who is quite a Stranger to the Pleaſures of Liberty, but thoroughly ſkill'd in the Pride of Empire. What is, what can then be expected from him, but that he ſhall be as compleat a Tyrant as Nature and Nurture united can make him?——The Tyrannies of the Father were rather the over-ſtrain'd Meaſures of Popiſh Bigottry, than the more deliberate Dictates of Civil Policy. But now the Son would be tyrannical upon Principle. He never learnt any other Model of Government than that of an unlimited Sovereignty, which would be very difficult for him to *unlearn*, when he was become our Sovereign. He would not only diſpenſe with ſome, but deſpiſe all Laws, and think himſelf no longer a King than whilſt he acted without Controul. He would not plead the Neceſſities of the Times, or any Reaſons of State for invading Property, or Liberty, or Life, if it ſo ſeem'd good to him; but Leviathan-like would *take his Paſtime in the Great Deep* of arbitrary Power. He would have no need to pack Juries, cloſet Judges, or corrupt Senates, for the better carrying on his Point; his Word would effect whatever his Heart could wiſh.——So that conſidering only where and by whom he hath been form'd and faſhion'd; that he hath been brought up under the Eye of a proud and haughty Tyrant, to ſatisfy whoſe boundleſs Ambition, the Blood and Treaſures of all *Europe* would not have been ſufficient; that from him he hath borrowed his Political Principles, from him he hath learnt the Art of Government, (or rather I ſhould have ſaid, the Arrogance of Power) 'tis highly probable, ſhould he now get the Dominion over us, we ſhould be a Race of Slaves.—Which Probability will fall little ſhort of Aſſurance or Certainty, if we conſider,

II. His particular Circumſtances and Situation.

Theſe,

Theſe, was he ever ſo well diſpoſed by Nature, was that Good-Nature, inſtead of being corrupted, ever ſo much improv'd by Education, would be the neceſſary Means of our Slavery. If we were not ruin'd by his Principles, we ſhould by his Dependencies. Should he make no uſe of *French* Maxims, he hath us'd *French* Money, and is thereby enliſted into the Service.—Is it to be ſuppoſed that his good Friends, who have ſo long ſupported him in ſo much State and Grandeur, and now aſſiſt him with their Purſe, and intend (as is ſuppoſed) to favour him with other Succours, *do all this for nought?* Is it to be ſuppoſed that this their Bounty flows from pure Benevolence?—Why, it might not be amiſs to ſuppoſe much better Things than theſe, of a King who affects to be ſtiled the *Moſt Chriſtian*, did we not know him to be *Heathen* enough to *give, expecting to receive again*, yea to *receive his own with Uſury*.—If thou wilt place me upon the Throne, aſk any Thing in Return, and I will give it thee, even unto the Half of my Kingdom. Nay, *Britain* ſhall be thy Province, and I will be content with the Honour of being thy Viceroy. Nay are there not three Nations? *I will bring them all out to thee, do thou to them what to thee ſhall ſeem good:* Ravage, ruin, rack them as thou wilt; uſe thy Pleaſure with the People, only let me have the Crowns, *for therefore came I under the Shadow of thy Roof:* In ſhort, *if thou wilt ſerve me* on this extraordinary Occaſion, *both I and they will be thy Servants for ever*.—Can we believe it is not in this, or in ſome ſuch Manner, ſtipulated betwixt a rapacious Prince and a needy Dependent? or if not ſtipulated, that this would not be the neceſſary and unavoidable Conſequence? If not by Oath, if not by Promiſe, he would, if he is (as ſome are pleaſed to repreſent him) a Man of ſtrict Honour, Probity and Virtue, think himſelf bound in Juſtice and Gratitude, to accept of any Conditions from that *Hand* which gerouſly put the Crown upon his *Head*. Or if thoſe ſhould not bind him, there is yet another Tie upon him, which certainly would; a Tie which would hold him as it were in Chains; a Law not to be diſpenſed with, the ſtrong and Iron Law of Neceſſity.—*France* would ſtill be neceſſary to him, and by no Means to be diſobliged. The ſame Power which lifted him up *to* Empire, muſt ſupport him *in* it. To give him the Crown would be doing nothing for him, if it did not alſo guard the Poſſeſſion. But as this would be at it's own Option, ſo it would inſiſt upon it's own Terms. What thoſe Terms would be, you who are converſant in Commercial Life, have much more plain and painful Ideas than I could pretend to convey to you, was the Pulpit a proper Place for ſuch a Topick; but ſo far I may mo-

deſtly ſay withot wading out of my Depth, or forgetting the Place in which I ſtand, that the Terms would be ſuch as would ſtrike at the Root, and end in the Ruin of all Commerce, the very Blood and Vitals of this happy Iſland, and leave you nothing to do, but to Plough and Till your Grounds, and even thoſe ſo loaded with Taxes and Tributes, that you would ſcarcely *earn your Bread with the Sweat of your Brows.*—Or ſuppoſing once more, (and then we ſhall have ſuppos'd all we can,) that it ſhould be poſſible for him to ſhake off theſe Fetters, as well as the Bonds of Honour, and Juſtice, and Gratitude; that when once poſſeſs'd of the Crown, he could and would break looſe from *France*, and ſupply the want of their Aids by a *Standing Army*. It muſt be a pretty Numerous one that could ſecure him upon a Throne to which he was elevated by Invaſion and Rebellion, Cruelty and Bloodſhed. We are not to imagine that all Oppoſition would ceaſe at the waving of his Sceptre; we are not to imagine that they whoſe Blood was ſpilt in reſiſting him would leave no body behind them to revenge their Quarrel; we are not to imagine that, however he may pretend to bring his Patent from Heaven, if *he gave the Word* the *Waters of Strife* would ſubſide, and the *Winds* of Diſcontent *be ſtill*; we are not to imagine that his Preſence would either awe or charm all Men into Allegiance, alienate their Affections from, or efface the Memory of their Oaths to the King who now Reigns (and long and happily may he Reign) over us; we are not to imagine that many, very many (and may they daily increaſe more and more) would not, inſtead of lying down cowardly at the Foot of the Conqueror, bravely collect their Spirits, reſume their wonted Courage, and move Heaven and Earth to pluck his Laurels from his Head, and with them his Crown, and to replace it where it was; ſince in the Reſtoration of that, they could only hope to be reſtor'd to their former free and happy State. But, whatever we may imagine, he could not but be filled with perpetual Fears and Jealouſies of ſuch Efforts and Attempts, and conſequently would arm againſt them, and endeavour to defend his new Dominions, if not by his Friends Abroad, by Force at Home. How then are ſuch Forces to be maintain'd? By heavy Taxes and Levies? No; we muſt not forget his moſt generous Promiſe *to make them quite eaſy to us.* How then? Why there is but one other poſſible Expedient, they muſt, like the rebellious miſcreant Crew now aſſembled in his Service, live upon Rapine and Plunder. Miſerable Caſes both! To be ravaged by imperious Prerogative or popular Depredations, to be robb'd

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by the Tyrant's Act, or by the Ruffian's Hand. In the one Caſe he would *add* intolerably *to our Yoke*; in the other he would *chaſtiſe us with Scorpions.*

But the moſt grievous Preſſure, the ſharpeſt Sting lies yet behind. The Grievances, the Miſeries already touch'd upon, reſpect only *Civil Property.* Now that we are to ſpeak of our *Religious Sufferings*, we muſt lay aſide the Metaphor and ſtick to the Letter. *Yokes and Scorpions* muſt give way to *Fire and Faggot. Whips* indeed we may preſerve, which 'tis to be fear'd, we ſhould literally Feel; and *Wheels* we may add, which we ſhould lamentably Suffer.—We muſt now look farther back than King *James*'s Reign, and fetch the Parallel from the Annals of Queen *Mary.* That furious, frantic Zealot, who was then in the Height of her Majeſty, in the very Zenith of her Glory, when gorgeouſly array'd in the Scarlet or Purple Robes of Popiſh Cruelty.—— We muſt change the Scene from the *Tower* to *Smithfield.* Where you may behold the venerable Fathers of our Church hurried to the Stake, and ſpeaking their laſt Charge to the People out of the Fire, not in Lawn Sleeves, but in Pitch'd Garments; Garments contriv'd, not to make their Pangs *ſhorter*, (that would be a criminal Indulgence to Hereticks) but *ſharper*, and to add to the Triumph of the Conflagration. Where you may behold the Sheep following their Shepherds to the ſame fiery Slaughter, Men, Women and Children promiſcuouſly ſacrific'd to the *Catholic* Cauſe. Where you may behold living Infants, tho' premature, burſting from the Womb by the Violence of the Flames, and ſnatch'd from thence by a Hand leſs brutal, with Barbarity that wants a Name, recommitted to the Pile, it being not fit that *even an Infant Heretic* ſhould live. Where——But I forbear; 'tis Cruel even to mention the Cruelties of *Rome.* Thoſe acts of Inhumanity which never touch'd their Hearts, would torture your Ears; and therefore though they have no Bowels, let me have ſome Decency.——But then conſider, if the very Hearing is ſo Shocking, what muſt the Seeing, what muſt the Feeling be! I can now free you from the one, but ſhould our Enemies prevail who (alas!) cou'd free you from the other? Free you not only from Torments which we are not willing to expreſs, but from thoſe alſo which we are not able to conceive? But *Rome* hath a quicker Conception. After all that they *have done*, we are not to ſuppoſe they have *no more that they can do.* We are not to ſuppoſe their Invention to ſtop, where our Imagination can riſe no higher. Since we have learnt by Experience that they have a moſt ſurpriſing Reach, (I ſhould have

ſaid

ſaid Depth) in cruel Devices. Since we muſt remember they have already found out ſuch as we never could have thought of; ſuch as never could have been hatch'd but in a Jeſuitical Conclave; nor even there, if the Devil himſelf had not been Preſident.——

Amongſt that brood of Vipers was he a *Diſciple*, who now ſeeks to be *our Lord*. There, we may aſſure ourſelves, he hath been harden'd to the ſame Temper with the religiouſly mad and mercileſs *Mary*. There he hath been taught new Arts of Cruelty, new Methods of Torture, new Terrors by which to propagate and eſtabliſh the *Romiſh* Religion, ſo ſoon as he hath ſeiz'd the *Engliſh* Government.——This, I'm aware, will paſs with ſome for a falſe Alarm. Some who are fooliſh enough to believe, or hypocritical enough to feign their Belief, that the Pretender himſelf, or at leaſt his Son who is now his Repreſentative (and ſhould he win the Crown is I ſuppoſe to wear it) is a firm and true Proteſtant. Ridiculous! Such Men muſt not only be *given to Change*, but downright Changelings, who can either be, or ſeem to be, of this Opinion. We have known ſome who have eſcap'd the Plague, tho' dwelling amidſt the raging Infection: but never was it known that any Man eſcap'd the Contagion of Popery, who was educated in popiſh Seminaries, or brought up at the Feet of a Cardinal. —— But was there any Probability in ſuch a Pretence, there would be little or no Weight in it, after it hath been ſhew'd how fatal it would prove to our Civil Liberties, ſhould God for our Provocations permit him to Rule over us.

We have now ſeen the Analogy between the Text and the Times. And that as King *James* the Second made the Yoke of this Nation heavy and *chaſtis'd it with Whips*, ſo the Perſon who takes upon him the Title of King *James* the Third is impatient *to add to the Yoke*, and *chaſtiſe it with Scorpions*.

And ſhall not we be as induſtrious to diſappoint him? Shall we be leſs impatient for our Freedom than he for our Captivity? Or when we ſee plainly that our All is at ſtake, can we want any further motive to beſtir ourſelves for its Security.——Yet to the Conſideration of the miſchievous Conſequences of his ſuppos'd Reign, give me leave to add a few ſhort Reflections upon the Happineſs of the preſent. The Prince we now live under is not only a *Titular*, but alſo a *True* and real Defender of the Faith. Not only the Supreme Governor, but likewiſe a faithful Guardian of our Church. And though he hath been Indulgent to thoſe who ſeparate from it (an Indulgence which every one muſt be a Friend to, who is a Friend to the Proteſtant Intereſt) yet hath he not remov'd the ancient

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Land-marks, or alter'd the juſt and prudent Boundaries betwixt an Eſtabliſhment and a Toleration. He hath indeed ſecur'd to Them (and may they continue to be ſo ſecur'd) the free Exerciſe of *their* Religion; but he hath not, either by Prerogative or Parliament, taken away thoſe Reſtrictions and Limitations, which have been thought neceſſary or expedient for the Welfare of *our own*.——King *James* indeed was ſo *pitiful* a Prince, ſo immoderately tender of ſcrupulous Conſciences, ſo griev'd and concern'd that they ſhould diſqualify their Owners from being advanc'd to thoſe Offices and Employments, which ought to be the Reward of Services, Fidelity and Merit, that he made no Scruple, no Conſcience of breaking through Laws and Promiſes and Oaths, and every thing for their greater Eaſe and Encouragement. Deviliſh (but I cannot ſay deep) Diſſimulation! How could this tender Heart of his commit ſeven Prelates to the Tower, becauſe they would not give up their Conſciences, their Honour, their Integrity to his Will? Or how could any be ſo weak or ſhort-ſighted as not to ſee the Wolf under the Sheep's Cloathing? Or greedily to catch at that ſpecious Bait of *Liberty*, without diſcerning the fatal Hook of *Popery* which lay ſo viſibly beneath it? But our King is in Earneſt. He ſeeks not to Enſlave by giving them greater Enlargement, or by flattering Promiſes of *more* to deprive them of the Liberty they *already* enjoy. He allows them the free uſe of their own way of Worſhip; and they are thankful for it. And whilſt they are ſo; whilſt they are content with *Protection*, without ſtriving for *Power*, we ſhould behave very ill, both to him and them, if we envy'd them the Privilege. Encroachments or Murmurings on either Side are but inviting the Common Enemy, and rendring the Royal Care and Vigilance for both leſs effectual.——Nor hath his Majeſty ſhew'd a more inviolable Regard to our *Religious*, than to our *Civil* Conſtitution. The publick and private Property of his Subjects he holds as ſacred as his own. He governs by Law, and hath not once departed from it, *to do any thing of his own Mind*. And however his Adminiſtration hath been ſometimes cenſur'd by an Imprudent, ſometimes by an Inſincere Patriotiſm, none yet I hope ever doubted the Honeſty of his Heart, or the Goodneſs of his Intentions for the Proſperity of his People.——The wiſeſt Government always had its Errors, the beſt it's Enemies. And worſe Enemies it cannot have than thoſe who are ever carping and crying out againſt its Errors. We will not pretend to ſay, that he who now governs is Infallible. But he is Juſt, Merciful and Affectionate. And the more Unanimity

mity there is in his Subjects, the more Wiſdom there will be in his Councils. He is kind, open and undiſguis'd; protects us in the full and peaceable Enjoyment of all our Rights, as well Sacred as Civil; and if we are not happy, 'tis becauſe we will not be ſo: 'Tis becauſe *Fulneſs of Bread and too much Eaſe have made us wanton.*

And now having ſaid that Protection and Happineſs are the Reward of our Obedience to the King who now ſits upon the Throne, Deſtruction and Miſery the certain Conſequence of a Popiſh Government, need I ſay any thing more to excite your firm Adherence to the one, your utter Abhorrence of the other?——

Shall I propoſe it to you as a yet further Motive, the Conſideration of the Loyalty you owe and have ſworn to your King? Why doubtleſs it is a very proper and laudable one, where there is room for it's Diſplay. But here it cannot poſſibly ſhew itſelf. Loyalty is only then to be diſtinguiſh'd, when the Prince is in Danger, and the People ſecure. Where the Dethroning of the One would be the Deſpoiling of the other, there Loyalty is loſt in Self-preſervation.——'Tis indeed the common Language of our Addreſſes, and Cuſtom ſeems to have given a Sanction to it, that we will venture our Lives and Fortunes in Defence of our Sovereign: But alas! we ſhould be in a wretched Condition if his Royal Arm and Heart did not defend our Lives and Fortunes. His Majeſty indeed is graciouſly pleas'd to accept ſuch Tenders for Loyalty, and I make no doubt but, were his Intereſt and that of his Subjects leſs cloſely connected, they would approach the Throne with the ſame Expreſſions of Fidelity and Affection; but as the Caſe now ſtands with us, the ſupporting the Crown on the Head of his preſent Majeſty, is, ſtrictly ſpeaking, no more an Act of Loyalty than the ſetting it upon King *William*'s. As the one deliver'd us heretofore from being ſwallow'd up by Popery and Arbitrary Power, ſo on the other we are now to depend, under the Providence of God, for a ſecond Deliverance.

Let us however, though we have no Opportunity (as we are Circumſtanced) of evidencing our Loyalty to the King, not be wanting to give a Proof that we have ſome Love for ourſelves. Which we cannot more effectually do than by entring into the moſt vigorous Meaſures againſt the Rebels to his Kingdom, and even *unto Blood*, guarding that Proteſtant Succeſſion, which alone can guard all the Property that we have.

Let us then heartily and inſtantly unite with our Royal Sovereign in this common and important Cauſe. Let us *gird ourſelves* with all the *Strength* we can; but not truſting to that only, let

let us pray alſo *that God would ariſe, and that our Enemies may be ſcattered.* Let us at this dangerous and critical Juncture inſtead of prying too cloſely into the Proceedings of the Adminiſtration, keep our Eyes nearer home, where they may be far more uſeful. Let us narrowly watch the Motions of the profeſs'd or ſuſpected Enemies to our happy Eſtabliſhment; and *mark* carefully *their Steps who lie in wait for Blood.* —— We know very well the Proclamation which hath been iſſued out. A very mild and moderate one ſurely. Were our Adverſaries in our Place, inſtead of a Proclamation we ſhould ſoon hear of a Proſcription; and not be ordered to retire for the national Security, but glad to do it for our own. But alas, where ſhould we find an Aſylum from their butchering Hand! They would *perſecute us from one City to another.* And in this our fugitive State, we ſhould be juſtly afraid, *leſt every Man who met us ſhould ſlay us.* Not for having the Mark of God, but for not having the Mark of the Beaſt upon us. And is it not highly reaſonable that they ſhould readily and thankfully comply with ſo gentle and favourable an Injunction? But have they done ſo? or do not many, if not moſt of them, ſtand in open and bold Defiance of it? And do not they whoſe more peculiar Province it is to enforce their Compliance, countenance or connive at their Contempt? When our Coaſts are well guarded and our Cities well watch'd by the Vigilance and Prudence of thoſe in Power, let each next prepare for the Field. But O! may we never think after all our Military Preparations, of tamely opening our Gates to the bold Invader, after the Manner of ſome, who (whether for Perfidy or Cowardice I will not ſay) ſeem to be juſtly puniſhed by that Enemy they ſo civilly let into their Bowels; but while we have Life, let us contend for Liberty. Let us abandon all thoſe effeminate, enervating Pleaſures, with which our Adverſaries have firſt debauch'd us, that they might afterwards the more eaſily enſlave us. Let us, if our Spirits are not quite diſſipated, if we have any Vigour, any Manhood left, exert it on this moſt emergent Occaſion. Let our Zeal be equal to the Goodneſs and Importance of our Cauſe. Which is not the Acquiſition of a commodious Port; is not the Capture of a few rich Veſſels; but that which is infinitely dearer to us than all the Wealth of the *Indies.* 'Tis our Religion, our Laws, our Liberties, our Lives, our Souls, our *All*, which now demand our Bravery and Reſolution. Upon our preſent Behaviour depends whether we ſhall be Freemen or

Slaves:

Slaves: Freemen of *England*, or Bondſmen of *France*: Whether we ſhall ſerve God in the Way which ſome call Hereſy, or in that which we know to be rank Idolatry: Whether we ſhall Worſhip the Lord in the Beauty of Holineſs, or in the Baſeneſs of Superſtition: Whether we ſhall carry our Bibles to the Church or the Stake: And in a Word, whether we ſhall continue to live in the true Faith and Fear of God, or be tempted to renounce both by the Flames of Martyrdom. If theſe are things indifferent to us, then indeed let us ſtand ſtill with our Hands folded in our Boſoms: But if we eſteem them (as to be ſure they are) as Things of the greateſt and higheſt Concernment, let us ariſe, and ſhew ourſelves Men. Let us contend earneſtly for our Faith and our Freedom, *for the Glory of God's Houſe, and for the Honour of his Majeſty.* So may we hope that God will bleſs our Arms, and go forth with our Armies; that he will defeat the united Efforts of our Enemies at Home and Abroad; that he will turn their *Whips* upon their own Backs, and their *Scorpions* into their own Boſoms.

FINIS